1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made. 602

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and consistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many categories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place. 182 183 582 593 602

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines. 587 768

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened. 583 619 [584]

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women 595 554 556 [422] [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

/Kwi, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other */gu!na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

/Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

/Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

482

1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

142
291
301
342
516

2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves.

[439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 435 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

411 The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

[482] When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 463 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common possession of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers. An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

!KUNG

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin [264] to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones. 412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no [352] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays, [439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango. [482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people [439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A 417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does [854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip. [415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the [412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.

[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

415 /258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with

[264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather

● [482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that

[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

372 The tools for firemaking command special interest. The Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dâ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the

[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

412 A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill

[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

482 In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The */Nu-//ĕin* and *//Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *ǂAo-//ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time form the most important article of barter among the */Nu-//ĕin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-//om*. Among the most northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omuva* tree, are the principal media of exchange.

252 439 264 415 184 262 237 [184] [438] [482] [415] 301 438 184 278 438

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

121

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well: The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kgalagadi FV4

dangerous for us there, so we withdrew. We should have loved to see them, and we were sorry to leave their patch of bush.

We looked in the open ground near the lions' thicket for signs of Bushmen, but we found none, so we went on over the flat plains and the next day we came to a long dip in the country, forested with small trees, the last place, said Theunis, where anyone except Bushmen lived. It was the rainy-season village of a few Bakalaharis, a Bantu people who years ago lost all their cattle and went into the desert, where they live a life very much like the life of Bushmen except that they raise goats. During the rains they graze their goats at little posts of theirs, far away in the veld. We set off toward the village, planning to ask the people there if they knew of Bushmen farther on, but as we went over the ridge and down into the valley we came upon all the villagers walking toward us, driving donkeys and herds of goats, a surprising sight in that lonely country. There were about sixty people in all, tall, dark-skinned Bakalahari men carrying bows and arrows, followed by their women, who carried heavy bundles on their backs, supported by tumplines around their foreheads, which made their eyes bulge and their lower jaws stick out. Among them walked their Bushman servants, old wrinkled men and women, young girls with their babies, lithe young hunters, small, light-skinned, all carrying great loads of household goods belonging to the Bakalaharis, with the youngest Bushman children riding on top of the loads. Some of the Bushman boys were driving herds of goats, some of the older Bushman women drove herds of scrubby gray donkeys which were also heavily loaded with bundles of hides, sticks used to build houses, bags of belongings, and baby goats too young to walk.

We were surprised to see them and we stopped. Some of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FOUR

The Fire

After a long talk with Gai and Ukwane we found that, because of a shortage of melons and roots, they did not like to live at the place where we found them, which was called Gu Nu, and they were planning to move. We asked them if they would mind our coming with them when they did move, and they, with great aplomb, showing no surprise at what must have seemed a strange request, said politely that they would not mind at all. We had good relations with them by that time and had already been living near them for several days.

As we would be asking them to spend time talking with us, we agreed to give them food, water, and firewood to make up for what they might gather if we were not taking their time, as well as salt and tobacco to make their hearts glad. It seemed to be a good arrangement, and they were as pleased as we.

Soon after that, when Ukwane had decided where to go, we packed up our camp, they packed up theirs, and we put everything on the trucks and drove away. The Bushmen all rode with us except the two oldest women, Kutera and Dasina, who said they were too tired to ride and preferred to walk. They did, too, taking with them all their possessions as

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clearing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires, and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night, but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative people, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

above the earth in a layer. We were crouching at a fire we had built, warming our hands against the cold, when the sun came up. We heard birds singing in the fresh air as if nothing had happened, then the sound of faint pounding far away, a mortar being struck with a pestle. Soon we heard a second mortar join the first as another woman began breakfast for her family, and we knew that two women meant perhaps six people, therefore a band.

Gai stood up and stretched his legs, then took a tiny coal from our fire between his thumb and finger and dropped it into his pipe, inhaling deeply and holding the smoke in his lungs while he handed the pipe to Witabe, who also puffed and returned the pipe, when at last Gai exhaled, spat, and scooped the pipe through the sand, extinguishing the fire and saving the rest of the tobacco. He stuck the pipe in his belt, flung his great kaross over his chest to warm his belly, and strode off in the direction of the sound, the ragged edges of his great cape swinging at his ankles as his strong feet carried him away. He walked under a burned log that had partly fallen and was braced up by another tree, and as he did the white ashes blew from it and the light of dawn shone through the ash like light through a flurry of snow.

Later in the day, when we had eaten cornmeal for breakfast, while we waited for Gai to come back, we went down to the flats below our hilltop to inspect the damage of the fire. The land below our camp was in utter desolation, startling and ruined, a desert of ash. We found only the orange sand and black ashes still in the shape of the grass blades that made them, black ashes below burned bushes still in the shape of the leaves that made them, and, on the ground, flat, perfect skeletons of vines, just in the shape of the vines that made them but black, in powder, disintegrating into dust when the wind touched them. All around us lay the smolder-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482] bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of [854] wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

when the tsama melons were gone, but now, perhaps when he saw its vine there and thought about it under the ground, he changed his mind. Squatting near the vine and digging with his hands, he soon had exposed it, two feet down and dark in shadow. He seized it and tore it from the earth. 222

It was shaped like a monstrous beet, with its vine coming from the top like a little stalk and its root bristling from the bottom like a tassel. It had a hard, bark-like crust and it was gray and hairy. Gai held it daintily by its vine, and, as dirt was still dropping off it he slapped and brushed it to clean it; then he held it high above the big cavity it had filled, looked at it with a rather satisfied smile, and said what nice water it would be.

We went home then, walking again in single file in a straight course over the veld, veering only once toward a fallen tree, where the women stopped to gather firewood. The women, walking first, were heavily loaded now with melons, roots, and firewood, Tsetchwe loaded most heavily of all because the baby rode on her shoulder. The women used their digging-sticks as canes because their knees were bending, and walked quickly, trying to get home as soon as possible. After the women came the young boys carrying nothing, and last of all came Gai, holding his bi by its tassel of root. Before long he hurried and caught up to Tsetchwe, and once again he took a turn with Nhwakwe, swinging him from Tsetchwe's shoulders to his own, where Nhwakwe rode happily, his tiny hands pressed over his father's eyes. [481] [313] [482] [481]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not to burn them or smoke them too much because they are magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

with his possessions—bowls, fire sticks with which the Bushmen kindle fires, skins, and little bags of food.

Just before we left, the Chuana woman came to say good-by and I gave her some tea and a bottle of perfume that was given to me when I left America. My mother gave her a silk scarf and some bars of scented soap, and the woman, overwhelmed, sat down on the ground with these things in her lap and with the aid of the interpreter she started to thank us, but then she said: "Too much thanks is like a curse. I sit here with my delights."

After that we climbed on the trucks and drove away, looking back to see the sky of evening and the dry hills around Gam, and the Chuana woman still sitting on the ground waving to us. In back of her, a group of serf Bushman women were thoughtfully carrying away the firewood we had left behind.

Many miles from Gam we camped for the night and all the sky in the west was hazy red with the flat-topped thorn trees blue below it, and suddenly through the haze a herd of giraffes ran from a thicket near us into the open plain. There were nine giraffes and eight were females, all strung out in a line with their strong legs slowly opening, then bunching as they ran and their heads on their long necks stretching out and back, out and back. Behind the females ran the bull, an enormous creature half again as tall as they were, half again as broad, mighty and ponderous as he reached his long legs forward to overtake his wives.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1956)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

buffalo, not hearing them, would relax, lie down, and itself get stiff and sore. In the morning the two men had found where the buffalo had slept, also a damp spot of its urine with black flecks in it (which I believe were flecks of blood) and Toma had pushed a poison arrow into the spot of urine so that the buffalo would be unable to urinate again, unable to rid itself of more poison.

The men had followed the buffalo's track for three days, knowing from its footprints that it was getting weaker, staggering, and in the morning of the fourth day they had come over a rise of ground and had seen it far ahead of them, lying on its side as if dead. The two men wisely had not gone up to it, but had squatted where they were to watch it, remaining this way for most of the day, and when the buffalo had not even flicked its tail or heaved its sides in breathing, Toma had considered it safe enough to approach. He had done this cautiously, very carefully, balancing his long spear in his hand, but just as Toma had stood near the buffalo, spear poised for the stab that would kill it surely, the buffalo had lurched to its feet, had chased Toma, and had tossed him on its horns.

The great boss, the heavy mass of horn on the buffalo's forehead, had cracked Toma's ribs and one curved horn had hooked in Toma's side, passing through his body and out his back. Toma had lain unconscious and Lazy Kwi had carried him home; later, other hunters of Toma's band had found the buffalo truly dead, partly eaten by vultures, and had taken the meat; but nothing, no medicines or cures that the Bushmen had used, had helped Toma, and the people had expected him to die.

Gautscha was the country of Toma's wife, and when Toma had realized how sick he was he had wanted to return to his own people, the people of Gam. Lazy Kwi and another man

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

men so badly that they had fled in all directions into the veld and the white farmers had not recruited any labor. We wondered how Short Kwi had managed his escape and Toma told us that his brothers-in-law had helped him. They had carried him on their backs to a far place, taking turns.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

begun to give each other presents of tsi. Bushmen feel a great need to give and receive food, perhaps to cement relationships with each other, perhaps to prove and strengthen their dependence upon each other; because the opportunity to do this does not occur unless huge quantities of food are at hand, Bushmen always exchange presents of the foods that come in huge quantities, these being the meat of game antelope, tsi nuts, and the nuts of the mangetti trees, which at certain seasons are scattered abundantly all through the mangetti forests. 431

As we waited by the jeep Dikai gave a huge sack of tsi to her mother. Her mother gave another sack to Gao Feet's first wife, and Gao Feet gave a sack to Dikai. Later, during the days that followed, the tsi was distributed again, this time in smaller quantities, small piles or small bagfuls, after that in handfuls, and, last, in very small quantities of cooked tsi which people would share as they were eating. All this was very hard to trace, especially for us while we waited and loaded the jeep, for the large sacks were not handed around but rather were tossed into the jeep one on top of the other while the transactions went on vocally.

There is a further complicating factor in food distribution. The owner of the bag which is full of tsi or mangettis is the owner of all the nuts inside, no matter who gathered the nuts, just as the owner of an arrow, whether man or woman, is the owner of the largest share of the buck killed by the arrow, no matter who shot the buck. This is a practical arrangement, since all three of these important foods, oftener than not, are very far from the waterholes where the bands would be living. Usually, Bushmen have to travel for several days over waterless, scorching veld to reach tsi fields or mangetti forests, then have to carry their heavy loads back again to water. These journeys are too hard for young children, old people, cripples, 431 484 482 472 431

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

484 women who are pregnant, or people who are ill. In fact, the
482 long journeys for the two kinds of nuts are undertaken only
422 by strong adults, who therefore must gather for all those who
431 stay behind. The system of Bushmen in these matters ensures that everybody gets enough. As it turned out, that afternoon we found that both Tu and Lazy Kwi had filled bags belonging to Lazy Kwi's wife, the bag that Lazy Kwi filled being the only one he had with him, and in this way his wife, who wasn't there and who so far knew nothing of her windfall, owned two bags of food which she would probably share with Lazy Kwi, who actually, that day, owned none.

At last, when many bags had changed hands, when everything movable including Tu's bag of grass—which she had emptied, tying the grass into a bundle with a strip of bark in order to free the bag for tsi—had been loaded into the jeep,
484 the people began to climb in and the jeep sank down on its springs, groaning dangerously as each person got on it and found a place to sit. When finally everyone was on and the springs still had not broken we drove away with extreme caution, barely moving when we came to bumps, with Toma and Gao Feet sitting on the hood and pointing the way to Nama.

522 As we crept along Toma told a lion story concerning some Bantu people at Kai Kai who tried to rid themselves of three lions that were attacking their cattle. As his story was extremely funny, his voice was often drowned out by the laughter of the others. He spoke so fast we could not understand him, but his wife laughed until she cried. Toma told the funniest parts of the story two or three times.

271 Just before we got to Nama, when the shadows of the bushes reached far over the veld and the western sky was blood red, thick with smoke, we reached a tiny waterhole

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIREWOOD FOR CAMP is another prize to be sought from the veld. Here, two fine logs are being carried back to the *werft* for fuel. Besides fires for cooking, the !Kung need them at night for warmth, since temperatures after sunset often fall well below freezing. Each family shelter has its own fire.

489
313
374

[P. 30].

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By JOHN MARSHALL

224 481 151

HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

224 868

[411 482 415]

CHIEF WEAPONS OF !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

415
482
312

BAGS FOR FOOD, above, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

224
278
825

poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

224
278
411

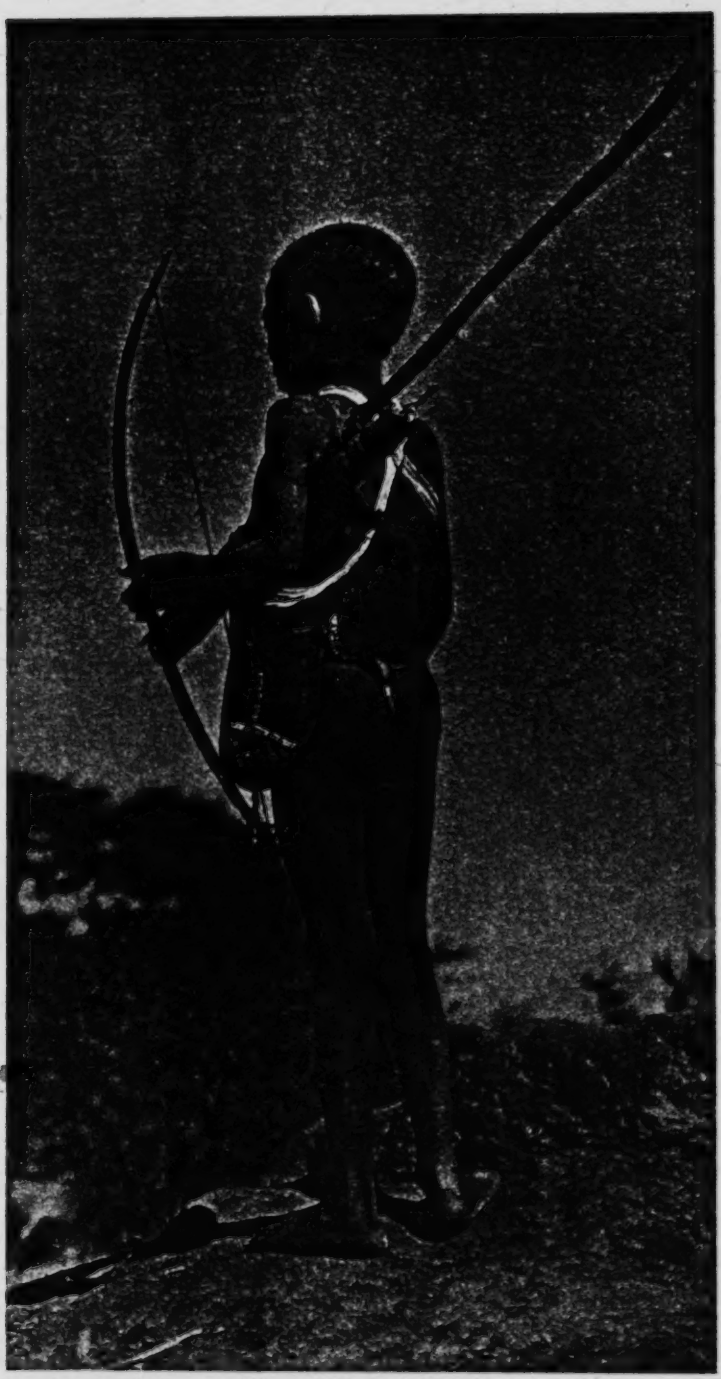
The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

237 and bowstrings. horn makes spoons and small containers: most needed of all are the skins—converted into bags and nets for carrying, and into clothes. Men wear only a breech-
291 clout. Women wear modesty aprons,
281 often one in front and one behind,
[841] as well as a piece of soft skin. clasped between their buttocks and thighs, when menstruating. Both men and women wear *kaross*'s. The *kaross*, or skin cloak, is the most important garment and everyone tries to have one. If a man has only one *kaross*, and he is a good man. he will give it to his wife and do without—for. to a woman, a *kaross* is essential. In it, she is modest. In it. she carries the
● [482] roots she has gathered in the day and the baby who must go where she goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at night. her softness on the cold ground. It breaks the blind wind and roofs away the narrow rain.

[p. 57]

411
482
883



BEFORE MARRIAGE, !Kung youths have few responsibilities. But the hunt is in their blood and it is a proud boy who kills his first buck early in life.

[P. 83]

FIG. 9. With all space around them, they sit shoulder to shoulder, ankle across ankle. One of the boys plays a *//gwashi*

516
[534]
[854]

FIG. 10. A mother and child asleep. Babies are held and carried most of the time. When they play they are never far from their parents

516
482

[FIG. 11. Old Gau lends an arrow to his son-in-law, /Qui

FIG. 12. ≠Toma carrying his share of meat in a first distribution

[p. 240-C]

133
142
291
301
●482

On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222
462 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī the men always ac-company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with tsī and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, how-ever, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
582

224 track the animal to the place where it has died. All the
462
[222] Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment
224
462 of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the kaross, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods
[291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste.
[281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant Elephantorhiza burkei. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped
[482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong,
[291]

222
482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside
[291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

222
412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It
[224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

224
412 Four of the ten important game species (wart hog, antbear, porcupine, and springhare) live in underground burrows and it is often necessary after running an animal to ground for the hunter to excavate to the burrow in order to retrieve the [482] carcass. The men also use the digging stick as a carrying yoke on which to bring home game.

412
222 The third tool is a pair of nut-cracking stones. Without these it would be impossible to exploit the abundant mongongo nut (Ricinodendron) as food because of its extremely hard shell. Any reasonably hard stone may be used including the locally abundant limestone cobbles. The hammerstone is fist-sized and no flakes are struck off. The anvil stone may be any size and shape up to a weight of fifteen pounds. Neither of these stones is improved in any way and only the pecking marks show evidence of human use. The nut is held on the anvil stone between the fingertips of the left hand. With the hammerstone one delivers two to five sharp and dextrous blows which are sufficient to open the nut.

Through the generations, pairs of these stones have become distributed throughout the nut forests of the Dobe area. It is only occasionally necessary for a woman to carry her own cracking stones from one camp to another.

It may be useful to re-examine the Stone Age lithic assemblages with the nut-cracking stones in mind.

221
222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

312
484
222
[426] and may stay in constant use for years. It is curious therefore that each family possesses less than 10 shells and must borrow shells in order to make these hiking trips to the nuts. The limited number of containers is probably the reason why members of a camp go out to the nuts in shifts. When one family returns, the camp's ostrich egg shells are pooled, and then another family may go out.

312
484
• 482
222 A second limitation is the weight of water that can be carried. The 756 ounces of water required for four days at the nut forest weigh 47 lbs. Each empty ostrich egg shell weighs eight ounces; so that the 14 shells themselves weigh
[855] an additional seven lbs. Furthermore it is necessary for the parents to carry the younger children on their shoulders. So, in effect, the parents must walk out to the nut forests fully loaded with water and children and also return fully loaded with nuts and children. On the return trip the weight of the water is replaced by an equivalent weight of collected nuts.

The third limitation is set by the volume that the ostrich egg shells occupy in the carrying space of the kaross. The volume occupied by 14 ostrich egg shells is roughly equivalent to the volume occupied by 14 quart-sized milk bottles. When the time comes for the trip home the adults must pack into each kaross 20 lbs. of nuts, as well as the empty ostrich egg

312 shells; this makes for a very bulky and unwieldy parcel. The
484
222 stomach sacs, by contrast to the egg shells, have the distinct advantage of being weightless and occupying no space on the return trip, since when they are empty they dry and shrivel up.

221 The reader can now appreciate the complex logistics of
222 Bushman subsistence activities during the late winter dry
312 season. In view of the difficulty of collecting mongongo nuts during this season, it is not surprising that the people turn to an eclectic diet of roots, bulbs, and gums that are still available in the vicinity of permanent water.

222 Several variations in tactics were observed among the
484 Dobe area Bushmen. One such variation was to leave the older
855 children behind in the care of relatives while the parents
312 made the long trips to the nut forests. By leaving behind
• 482 two children at the main camp, the parents could effect savings of 30% in the weight of water that had to be carried out on a four day trip.

222 Another variation observed was the two-day-one-night
484 overnight hike. Such a trip lasted only 36 hours and required
312 only three ostrich egg shells of water per adult. By using
[482] this tactic, groups of ten or more people could make a rapid lightly loaded trip to the nut forests and return the following day heavily loaded with nuts. This was a difficult operation

222
312
482
484 because it entailed two consecutive days of hard hiking on short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221
222
262 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to collect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275–6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Doman, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.